

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 078566  
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EXDIS FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 2249 ACTION SECSTATE MAR 24.

QUOTE: S E C R E T ANKARA 2249

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PEPR, MASS TU, US  
SUBJ: TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS: JAVITS-ECEVIT CONVERSATION

1. SEN. JAVITS ACCOMPANIED BY HIS FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR PETER LAKELAND AND BY DCM MET SEPARATELY WITH TURK FONMIN OKCUN AND PRIME MIN ECEVIT ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS EARLY EVENING ARRIVAL MARCH 24 IN ANKARA. THE INITIAL CONVERSATION WITH OKCUN WAS SHORT WITH JAVITS EXPLAINING TO HIM THE ANGER OVER CYPRUS IN CONGRESS THREE YEARS AGO, BUT INDICATING THAT MOOD OF CONGRESS WAS CHANGING AND EMPHASIZING THAT HE UNDERSTOOD STRONG TURKISH FEELING ABOUT LINKAGE OF EMBARGO AND CYPRUS. OKCUN REPLIED BY NOTING THAT US WEAPONS HAD BEEN USED BY ISRAEL  
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 078566

IN SOUTH LEBANON BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO RESENTMENT IN THE CONGRESS. JAVITS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WAS SOME PARALLEL BUT FELT THE SITUATIONS WERE DIFFERENT. "YOUR ACTION WAS PREEMPTIVE WHILE THE ISRAELI ACTION WAS IN RETALIATION AND THEREFORE MORE CLEARCUT." JAVITS ADDED THAT THE ISRAELI SITUATION WOULD HELP THE TURKISH CASE WHEN THE CONGRESS CAME TO DEALING WITH THE SITUATION.

2. EXPANDING ON THIS THEME JAVITS STRESSED HIS

HOPES FOR A SETTLEMENT OF US-TURKISH DIFFERENCES AND HIS HOPE THAT CONGRESS COULD BE "BROUGHT AROUND." HE NOTED THAT BOTH THE FORD AND CARTER ADMINISTRATIONS HAD BEEN EAGER TO HAVE THE DCA APPROVED BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A PROBLEM IN THE CONGRESS. HE SAID "OUR COMMITTEE DID NOT WANT TO TAKE UP THE DCA BECAUSE WE THOUGHT IT WOULD FAIL." HE BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD MAKE A STRONG CASE IN THE CONGRESS THIS SPRING AND THE DCA WOULD PASS. HE HOPED THERE WOULD BE NO TURKS ACTIONS TAKEN IN ANGER THAT WOULD INTERFERE WITH THIS PROCESS.

3. OKCUN REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF TURKISH ANGER, THE TURKS JUST WANTED THINGS PUT IN THEIR PLACE. THE QUESTION IS, HE SAID: "DOES THE US WANT A STRONG TURKEY IN THE MIDDLE EAST?"

4. JAVITS REPLIED THAT CONSTANT US POLICY OVER MANY YEARS HAD BEEN TO BUTTRESS A MILITARILY STRONG TURKEY ON NATO'S SOUTHEASTERN FLANK. HE, HIMSELF, HAD ALWAYS SUPPORTED THIS. IN HIS OPINION THINGS WENT OFF THE TRACK BECAUSE OF TURKISH NATIONAL PRIDE AND US EXASPERATION. TURKEY WAS,  
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 078566

HOWEVER, CRITICAL TO THE FREE WORLD AND IT WAS TIME TO GET THINGS BACK ON THE TRACK.

5. OKCUN OBSERVED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT NEITHER FOREIGN POLICY NOR NATIONAL INTEREST BE AFFECTED BY "PROVINCIAL CONSIDERATIONS", NOR BY "CERTAIN STRATAS OF SOCIETY." JAVITS AGREED BUT ADDED THAT UNDER DEMOCRACY POLICY WAS INEVITABLY AFFECTED BY DIFFERENT GROUPS.

6. JAVITS CONTINUED " BUT THIS IS A CRISIS; YOU LAY ASIDE SMALL CONSIDERATIONS." THIS WAS THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT FOR TURKEY TO MAKE A NEW START. THE DCA WAS A GOOD APPROACH BECAUSE IT WAS RECIPROCAL. OKCUN QUESTION WHETHER THE DCA WAS REALLY RECI-PROCAL POINTING OUT THAT TURKEY HAD NO BASES IN THE US.

7. JAVITS REPLIED THE DCA WAS RECIPROCAL BECAUSE OF THE JOINT COOPERATION IT IMPLIED. JAVITS, IN AN APPARENT CONTINUING REFERENCE TO THE DCA, SAID THAT NOW WAS THE TIME TO BREAK NEW GROUND. IT WAS BETTER TO APPROVE A NEW DEAL THAN GO BACK TO SOMETHING THAT CAUSED A STRAIN. THE CONVERSTAION ENDED ON THAT NOTE.

8. JAVITS ACCOMPANIED BY LAKELAND AND DCM THEN WENT

IMMEDIATELY TO PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE WHERE SENATOR COMMENCED SUBSTANTIVE PART OF CONVERSATION BY TELLING PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT THAT HE HAD VIEWS ON TURKISH-AMERICAN PROBLEMS BUT HE PREFERRED PRIME MINISTER GIVE HIS VIEWS FIRST IF HE WERE WILLING. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD TALKED TO PRESIDENT CARTER JUST BEFORE LEAVING AND THAT PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO GIVE PRIME MINISTER HIS WAR PERSONAL REGARDS.

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 078566

9. PRIME MINISTER TOLD JAVITS THAT WHEN HE HAD TAKEN OVER THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HE HAD SAID IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY THAT THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND MAKE PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS--BOTH ON DEMARCATION AND CONSTITUTION. THE TURKS WOULD NOT WAIT ON THE US CONGRESS. IT WAS MAINLY A PROBLEM THAT CONCERNED TURKS AND GREEKS. HE HAD SAID THE SAME THING TO WALDHEIM AND SECRETARY VANCE. HE HAD MADE ONE VERY IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL POINT TO VANCE: AS LONG AS GREEK CYPRIOTS BELIEVED THEY COULD RELY ON US PRESSURE ON TURKEY THEY WOULD BE INTRANSIGENT. THEY WERE NOT MUCH INTERESTED IN A FEDERAL SOLUTION BUT WANTED THE STATUS QUO ANTE. HE HAD ASSURED VANCE AS WELL AS WALDHEIM THAT HE WOULD NOT USE TURKISH RESENTMENT OVER THE EMBARGO AS AN EXCUSE TO DELAY. BUT HE HAD ASKED THAT THE US NOT MAKE A LINKAGE BETWEEN THE DCA AND CYPRUS. HE BELIEVED THAT HE HAD BEEN PROMISED THAT THE USG WOULD NOT MAKE SUCH A LINKAGE. HE WAS, THEREFORE, GREATLY DISILLUSIONED AT THE ADMINISTRATION'S SUBSEQUENT POSITION. THIS WAS REVEALED FIRST OF ALL WHEN 19 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE SENT A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY ON FEB. 14 (AND HE DESCRIBED CONTENTS OF LETTER). THE TURKS LEARNED OF THE LETTER ON 8 MARCH WHEN IT WAS PUBLISHED. THEY WERE ASTONISHED TO FIND OUT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD NOT EVEN ANSWERED THE LETTER BY THEN. TURKS HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS LOOKING FOR HOPEFUL SIGNS IN THE CONGRESS SO THAT IT COULD BEGIN PROCESS TO GET RID OF THE EMBARGO. NOW THESE MEN " SOME OF WHOM HAVE BEEN IN GREEK LOBBY" (SIC) WERE ASKING FOR AN UNEQUIVOCAL SIGN FROM THE ADMINISTRATION AND NOT GETTING IT.

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 078566

THE NEXT DAY SECRETARY VANCE HAD ANSWERED A QUESTION IN A SENATE COMMITTEE MAKING A DIRECT LINK NOT ONLY BETWEEN THE DCA AND CYPRUS BUT ALSO BETWEEN THE DCA AND THE MONTREUX MEETING. THIS HAD HAD A VERY

BAD EFFECT ON THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. ECEVIT HAD FEARED, MOREOVER, THAT IT WOULD ENDANGER THE MONTREUX MEETING BUT FORTUNATELY KARAMANLIS HAD BEEN A MATURE ENOUGH STATESMAN NOT TO ALLOW THAT TO HAPPEN.

10. ECEVIT DESCRIBED REPORTS HE HAD OF EXTENSIVE GREEK CYPRIOT LOBBYING IN THE US, AND HIS RESULTING DISQUIET. HE REITERATED THAT LIMITED OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN ACHIEVED AT MONTREUX AND THAT HE WAS REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC REGARDING TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS. HE WAS NOT SO OPTIMISTIC, HOWEVER, ABOUT CYPRUS BECAUSE OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS ATTITUDE AND HE WAS ACCUTELY CONSCIOUS THAT FAILURE TO ACHIEVE MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS WOULD IN TURN POISON TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS WHICH WERE HIS PRIMARY CONCERN.

11. JAVITS REPLIED THAT "THE TIGER WAS AT THE GATES." STRESSING THAT HE HAD NOT TALKED TO SECRETARY VANCE, NOR WAS HE SPEAKING FOR THE USG, BUT AS AN INDIVIDUAL SENATOR, HE ASID: "THIS IS A NEW MOMENT; WE MUST NOT OPEN OLD WONDS." BY ACTING ON THE DCA THE CONGRESS COULD REMOVE THE EMBARGO WITHOUT OPENING THE OLD ARGUMENTS. "STRATEGY HAS SHIFTED; THIS IS A WAY TO GET ACTION TO NULIFY PREVIOUS HISTORY." HE SURMISED THAT SECRETARY VANCE, WHO HE KNEW TO BE A STRONG FRIEND OF TURKEY, IN SPEAKING OFF THE CUFF IN THE SENATE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE " OLD SITUATION," I.E. THE EMBARGO AND THE REASONS FOR IT. HE WAS NOT ADDRESSING THE NEW, I.E. THE DCA. JAVITS SAID HE DIDN'T BLAME ECEVIT FOR BEING ANGRY, BUT THE THING TO DO NOW WAS FOR EVERYBODY  
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 078566

TO PUSH THE DCA. HE SAID "PEOPLE WILL VOTE TO PASS THE DCA WHO WILL NOT VOTE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO." THE EMBARGO WAS A NEGATIVE THING, MEANT TO PUNISH; THE DCA WAS AN EXPRESSION OF COOPERATION BETWEEN TWO ALLIES. HE WOULD PUSH FOR A HEARING IN THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SUCH ACTION WOULD ALSO COMPEL KARAMANLIS TO SIGN THE GREEK DCA. JAVITS ADDED "I CAN VOTE FOR THE DCA--NO TROUBLE, BUT IT WOULD BE HARD EVEN FOR ME TO REVERSE MYSELF ON THE EMBARGO."

12. FOLLOWING A SHORT DISCUSSION OF POSSIBILITIES FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, ECEVIT RETURNED TO SUBJECT OF DCA. HE TOLD JAVITS THAT WHEN HE HAD COME TO POWER THE USG HAD ASKED HIM WHETHER IT SHOULD GO AHEAD ON THE AGREEMENT. HE HAD REPLIED "YES, BUT THE AGREEMENT IS INSUFFICIENT." THIS WAS BECAUSE IT DID NOT HAVE

"DEFENSE SUPPORT" AND IGNORED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. HE HAD AGREED, HOWEVER, TO GO AHEAD IF THERE COULD BE SUPPLEMENTARY ARRANGEMENTS LATER. THE AMERICANS, HOWEVER, HAD NOT YET GIVEN HIM ANY CONCRETE HOPE FOR SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT. FURTHERMORE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD TOLD THE PREVIOUS TURKISH GOVERNMENT THERE WOULD BE HEARINGS IN DECEMBER. THEN IT HAD TOLD THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT HEARINGS WOULD BE IN MARCH. THE LATEST CHANGE HE COMPLAINED WAS TO APRIL 4 AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO APRIL 6. THE TURKS UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WERE NEAR A DEADLINE. THERE MUST BE ACTION THIS SPRING (NOTE: APPARENTLY REFERRING TO AMERICAN POLITICAL IMPERATIVES). HE ASKED IF JAVITS HAD SEEN GEN. HAIG'S RECENT STRONG STATEMENT. WHEN JAVITS NODDED ASSENT ECEVIT SAID THAT WAS THE KIND OF SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 078566

STATEMENT THAT WAS NEEDED.

13. JAVITS SUMMED UP THAT ON THIS RETURN HE WOULD SEE THE PRESIDENT AND TALK TO HIM ABOUT TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE NECESSITY OF IMMEDIATE ACTION ON THE DCA. FOLLOWING HEARINGS IN THE HOUSE, HE WOULD SEE ABOUT GETTING HEARINGS STARTED IN THE SENATE. HE WOULD PRESS AS SOON AS PANAMA WAS OUT OF THE WAY. THE FINAL DEADLINE FOR THAT VOTE WAS APRIL 26 BUT IT WAS PROBABLE THAT IT WOULD BE TWO WEEKS EARLIER. THE ADMINISTRATION MUST BE AS STRONG AS GEN. HAIG (ECEVIT INTERJECTED THAT HE AGREED BUT THAT HE HAD LITTLE FAITH THAT IT WOULD BE). JAVITS CONTINUED "I HOPE THAT WHEN YOU SEE THE ADMINISTRATION MOVING ON THE DCA, YOU WILL CHANGE YOUR VIEW ON LACK OF CONFIDENCE. I WOULD ADD ONE CAVEAT: I HOPE YOU WILL NOT FIND IT NECESSARY TO RAISE QUESTION OF DEFENSE SUPPORT BEFORE THE PASSAGE OF THE DCA. THE DCA CAN BE TREATED AS A BROAD QUESTION OF SUPPORT FOR AN ALLY BUT THERE MUST BE NO STIPULATION OF ADDITIONAL HELP IN ADVANCE. ONCE THE DCA IS PASSED, MORE HELP IS POSSIBLE IN THE CONTEXT OF TWO COOPERATING ALLIES.

14. THE CONVERSATION CLOSED WITH ECEVIT DESCRIBING CONSIDERATIONS THAT HAD GONE INTO HIS DECISION TO ORDER THE CYPRUS INVASION AND PARTICULARLY THE CONSIDERATIONS THAT HAD GONE INTO ORDERING THE SECOND TURKISH THRUST. HE SHOWED JAVITS A COPY OF LETTER SIGNED BY HOUSE WHIP JOHN BRADEMAs SAYING THAT HE COULD ACCEPT THE INITIAL TURKISH LANDING BUT NOT THE SUBSEQUENT TURKISH BREAKOUT FOLLOWING A CEASE FIRE WHEN A LARGE PORTION OF NORTHERN CYPRUS HAD BEEN TAKEN. DRAWING A MAP ON THE TABLE ECEVIT EXPLAINED THAT THE TURKISH TROOPS HAD BEEN

IN A NARROW CORRIDOR BETWEEN KYRENIA AND NICOSIA. IN  
SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 078566

THE GENEVA TALKS IN AGUST 1974 TURKS HAD TRIED TO MAKE  
CLEAR THAT THEY MUST HAVE A BROAD DEMILITARIZED ZONE  
AROUND THEIR TROOPS IN THAT CORRIDOR WHILE TALKS  
CONTINUED. THEIR MESSAGE HAD NOT BEEN TAKEN  
SERIOUSLY BY THE BRITISH OR GREEKS DESPITE SECRETARY  
KISSINGER'S HELP, HOWEVER, AND THIS FACT  
COUPLED WITH THEIR KNOWLEDGE THAT TURK CYPRIOTS  
WERE BEING MASSACRED IN VILLAGES TO THE EAST IN THE  
LARGE TRIANGLE BETWEEN THE CORRIDOR AND FAMAGUSTA  
HAD PROMPTED THE SECOND TURKISH OPERATION TURKISH  
FEARS SUBSEQUENTLY WERE BORNE OUT BY THE DISCOVERY OF MASS  
GRAVES. HE HAD FOUND THAT EVEN KARAMANLIS DID  
NOT UNDERSTAND THIS, BUT HE HAD HAD AN OPPORTUNITY  
AT MONTREUX TO EXPLAIN. HE ADDED THAT THE GREEK  
AND GREEK CYPRIOTS WITH WHOM TURKS HAD FOUGHT HAD  
ALSO BEEN USING U.S. WEAPONS SUPPLIED TO GREECE FOR  
NATO PURPOSES.

15. COMMENT: SENATOR JAVITS MADE IT CLEAR  
THAT HE WAS NOT SPEAKING FOR ADMINISTRATION, BUT AS  
SENIOR SENATOR ON SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE. ECEVIT, WHO OBVIOUSLY TOOK JAVITS'  
REMARKS VERY SERIOUSLY, WAS RESTRAINED AND  
UNEMOTIONAL THROUGHOUT. SPIERS  
UNQUOTE VANCE

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